

## THE WAR CLOUD IN EUROPE.

## HOW THE WAR CLOUD GATHERED.

In October of 1874 a collision between Montenegrins and Turks, resulting in a massacre, had taken place in Podgoritza. For this, in January of 1875, five Turks were condemned to death and twenty to imprisonment; but the Turkish Government refused to permit the execution of the sentence, unless the Montenegrins implicated in the disturbance were surrendered, to be tried by Turkish courts on Turkish soil. Prince Nikita insisted on the unconditional punishment of the culprits, and prepared for war; but finally, through the mediation of consuls of the three empires, the Porte was induced to recede from its demands, and orders were issued to the Governor of Scutari, in whose jurisdiction the Turkish prisoners had been tried, to execute the sentence of the court. In the meantime the prisoners had been allowed to escape, which did not prevent the Turkish Government, however, from reporting the sentence executed. The whole affair aroused such indignation in Montenegro that an informal kind of war might be said to have already begun, and events in Bosnia and Herzegovina soon fanned this hidden fire into an open conflagration.

Great distress prevailed in the last-named provinces on account of the bad harvest of 1874; but the tax-gatherers, instead of taking this into consideration, carried off everything they could lay their hands on.

Some of the peasants, driven to desperation, offered resistance to the tax-collectors, and were beaten or thrown into prison; others sent a fruitless deputation to the governor, Dervish Pasha. Hundreds of families fled with what they could collect to Croatia, Dalmatia, Montenegro and Serbia. In consequence of Prince Nikita's intercession, amnesty was promised to all those fugitives who would return; but no sooner did some of them venture back than the promise was broken.

About this time occurred the Austrian Emperor's trip to Dalmatia, and the report spread that the object of his visit was the acquisition of Bosnia and Herzegovina by purchase. This report, together with the outspoken sympathy of Serbia and Montenegro, increased the excitement, and on the 6th of July, 1875, an insurrection broke out in Herzegovina. Orders had been given to collect the taxes in the village of Drashego, on the plateau of Nevesinye, by force. The revenue collectors and a mob of Mussulmans took advantage of the opportunity to plunder the inhabitants. The latter flew to arms and shot ten of the robbers dead. The news that a number of taxpayers had been shut into a house and burnt alive added fuel to the flame. The women and children were at once dispatched to Dalmatia, and in a few days those parts of Herzegovina bordering on that province and on Montenegro were in open rebellion. The war was prosecuted with the greatest cruelty on both sides.

The demands put forward by the rebels as the condition of laying down their arms were: a thorough reform of the system of taxation, the substitution of native for Turkish officials, and the establishment of a native militia for the maintenance of public order in the province, and these demands the Porte was certain not to grant, except, perhaps, on paper.

According to the census of 1868, the Greek Catholics in Bosnia, including Herzegovina, numbered 431,200; the Roman Catholics, 171,764, and the Mohammedans, 418,315. A large part of the Mohammedan population consisted of the territorial nobility (the eldest in Europe), who, although of Slavic origin, were yet fanatical adherents of

Islam, having found it to their interest to change their religion after the conquest of the country by the Turks. These took no part in the rebellion, and even the Christian population did not rise in a body. The success of the insurrection seemed to depend upon the attitude of Serbia and Montenegro, and at the outset those two countries were induced by the consuls of the three empires to profess a strict neutrality.

Nevertheless, the Herzegovinians did not lose heart, and by the beginning of August they had put into the field against the Turks a force of twelve to fourteen thousand men. The latter made great exertions to suppress the rebellion before it should give rise to diplomatic intervention of too serious a character, or involve the Porte in a war with the Principalities. Dervish Pasha was succeeded by Reouf Pasha, and 30,000 or 40,000 soldiers were gradually collected in Herzegovina. Against such a force the insurgents could not hope to maintain the field; but by means of a guerilla warfare they harassed the Turks at every point, and when Winter brought about a cessation of hostilities, the latter had made no real advance toward the suppression of the revolt.

In the mean time the three empires, fearing that the insurrection, if not speedily suppressed, might result in an Oriental war, had been making efforts to bring about an understanding between the Porte and its revolted subjects. Of the three, Germany was a comparatively disinterested observer; but, while Russia found the insurrection to her advantage, Austria was seriously embarrassed by a disturbance threatening to shake the *status quo*; and indeed, in order to understand Austria's attitude through this whole period, it must be borne in mind that the Austro-Hungarian Empire is not one firmly consolidated state, but merely a sort of agreement on the part of a parcel of states and provinces of differing nationalities and conflicting interests to maintain the *status quo*. On August 18th, the ambassadors of these three powers tendered their good offices for the pacification of the revolt, and after considerable hesitation the Sultan accepted the offer. Server Pasha was sent as a commissioner to examine into the grievances of the insurgents, while the consuls of the six Great Powers undertook to induce the rebels to lay down their arms and present their complaints before the commissioner. Server Pasha went to Mostar and made promises; the consuls traveled through the disaffected districts—Germany, Austria and Italy along the Austrian border, England, Russia and France through the interior. By their interviews with the leaders of the insurrection the consuls ascertained that the latter would not lay down their arms, unless guarantees of the most tangible description were given for the execution of the desired reforms.

On the 2d of October the Sultan issued an iradé full of promises, and on the 12th of December a firman of similar character appeared.

These reforms were not worth the paper on which they were written, unless their execution was guaranteed and supervised by the Great Powers, a responsibility which the latter were unwilling to assume. It was with great difficulty they were able to unite in a joint note. This was drawn up on behalf of the three empires by Andrassy, and, after having received the approval of the three remaining Great Powers, was presented to the Porte in an apologetic and inoffensive manner on the 31st of January, 1876. Five points were insisted on as essential to the

pacification of Bosnia and Herzegovina—unlimited religious freedom; abolition of the system of farming the taxes; the application of the direct revenue of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the benefit of those provinces; establishment of a special commission, consisting, in equal parts, of Moslems and Christians, to watch over the execution of the reforms; and improvement of the industrial condition of the country population. Mahmoud Pasha and his master went through the solemn farce of laying the propositions of the powers before a ministerial council, after which they were accepted, with some modifications of the third proposition, and published in an imperial iradé of the 13th of February. A second iradé on the 23d of the same month offered full amnesty to the rebels, safe return to the fugitives, protection against all oppression, a free gift of the necessary materials for rebuilding their houses, and corn for sowing their fields, together with the remission of the tenth for one year, and all other taxes for two. By these poetical decrees the Porte was for the moment relieved from all interference on the part of the Great Powers, and at the same time furnished with an excuse for carrying out no reforms of any description whatever.

The Andrassy note had become waste-paper, and the utterances of the Russian Press—for when the Russian Press ventures to speak on any political topic its utterances may be regarded as inspired, or at least approved, by the Government—showed that Russia appreciated the necessity of armed interference, and chafed at the restraint put upon her by the other powers. The powers which specially exercised this restraint were England and Austro-Hungary. The latter shared with Russia the position of the most interested country; but, as already stated, its interests were ultraconservative, inasmuch as any disturbance in the Balkan peninsula endangered the unsteady equilibrium of the composite empire.

Both Germans and Hungarians were opposed to annexation, as that would increase the strength of the Slavic element, which both of them already found too strong. The increase of Serbia or the erection of a new Slavic state would make Russian influence in the Balkan peninsula too powerful. Furthermore, the Magyars (5,500,000 in number, ruling over 2,500,000 Roumanians, 1,500,000 Germans, and 5,000,000 Slavs), in their hatred of the Slavs in general, and the Russians in particular, actually sympathized with the Turks. Consequently, Austria could not venture to advance her own frontier, except under pressure of actual necessity, neither could she allow the erection of any new Slavonic states, or the increase of those already existing. Her natural policy was the maintenance, so far as possible, of the *status quo*, and for this purpose she sought the alliance of England, and showed herself willing to follow any plan the latter might propose.

But England adopted a simple policy of obstruction, encouraging the Porte in its opposition to all reform, rejecting the plans proposed by other powers, and refusing to present any of her own; recognizing the principle of European concert, but doing all in her power to prevent the fact. At the outset she urged the Turk to put down the Herzegovinian insurrection with all speed, and used her whole power to bring about that result.

It was English representations which led Austria, in the early Spring of 1876, to guard her frontiers more carefully against the insurgents, and finally to withdraw all support from the refugees within her borders. One other stroke of English policy, Oriental in more senses than one, calls for mention here—namely, the purchase from the Khédive of Egypt, on the 25th of November, 1875, of 176,602 shares of the Suez Canal for \$20,000,000.

The situation was daily growing more critical. Austria and England had accomplished nothing, and Russia was becoming tired of delays and promises. On the 10th of May Gortschakoff had a meeting with Bismarck and Andrassy in Berlin, and laid before them a memorandum based upon the Andrassy note. A truce of two months was to be proclaimed in order to settle the points in dispute with the insurgents, the execution of the promised reforms was to be supervised by the consuls of the Great Powers, and an international fleet was to be dispatched to the support of the consuls. "More effectual" measures were held in view, in case nothing had been accomplished before the expiration of the two months.

This memorandum was adopted by the three emperors, and communicated to the other three Great Powers. France and Italy accepted it without reserve, but England refused her assent, on the ground that the Porte had not yet had sufficient time in which to carry out the reforms, and that the suggestion of "more effectual" measures would lead the rebels to persist in their rebellion, while the supervision by foreign consuls was an inadmissible interference with the sovereign rights of the Sultan.

In the meantime an event had occurred at Salonika which involved the Porte in threatening complications with two of the neutral or disinterested Great Powers.

A mob of Turkish fanatics murdered the German and French consuls, on the 6th of May, by the command or at the instigation of the chief of police, the disturbance which led to their interference having originated in an attempt on his part to carry off a Bulgarian maiden for his harem. Germany and France at once demanded satisfaction, and French, German, Italian, Russian, Austrian and Greek ships of war appeared in the harbor of Salonika to protect the foreign residents; whereupon England dispatched twelve ironclads to Besika Bay, to guard the mouth of the Dardanelles. The peremptory attitude of the injured powers compelled the Porte, after some shambling and delay, to punish, not merely according to its usual custom, ignorant tools and inoffensive lookers-on, but even pashas and a chief of police.

Great embarrassment was occasioned at Constantinople by the German demand of 300,000 francs for the widow of the murdered consul. Turkish finances were in such a condition that it was difficult to procure even this small sum.

On the 5th of October, 1875, the Porte had declared itself unable to pay more than fifty per cent. of the interest on the debt, with the exception of that portion guaranteed by England and France. On the 1st of April, 1876, payment of the coupons due on that day was postponed until the 1st of July. Officials had received no pay for months, and been obliged to rely wholly on bribes, while the soldiers were left to subsist on plunder. But with all that the foolish extravagance of the Sultan continued unchecked. The lack of money made itself sorely felt everywhere, and rumor said that there was an abundance stored up in the vaults of the palace.

The murder in Salonika, and the military fiasco in Bosnia and Herzegovina, were used by the reform party to increase the dissatisfaction. That party was hostile to Russia, and hence anxious for the downfall of the grand vizier, Mahoud Pasha, and the Sheikh-ul-Islam, both of whom were under Russian influence. Of a sudden great excitement displayed itself among the Softas, or students, of whom there were about 10,000 at various mosques in Constantinople. Providing themselves with arms, they marched in crowds through the city, and drew up a programme, in which they demanded, among other things, an assembly of notables, and the recall of Ignatieff by the



Russian Government. They likewise clamored for the annihilation of the revolt in Herzegovina, and for war with Montenegro. On the 11th of May they presented themselves before the palace with arms in their hands, and demanded the removal of Mahmoud Pasha and the Sheik-ul-Islam. Their demands were granted; but, instead of Midhat Pasha, the man of their choice, Mehemed Rushdi Pasha was made grand vizier.

But before Abdul Aziz ceased to reign, one of the cruelest tragedies which modern history records had been enacted in Bulgaria. Ever since the Crimean war it had been the policy of the Turkish Government to eradicate the Bulgarians, and settle Tartars and Circassians in the provinces south of the Danube, in order to form a strong bulwark against Slavic aggression from the north. The Tartars remained almost exclusively in the Dobrudsha; the Circassians scattered through the mountainous regions of Bulgaria.

Bravely though the latter had fought against the Russians in their native mountains, in Bulgaria they proved to be nothing more than lazy robbers. Work they would not; they lived by plundering the unfortunate natives. At

length, inspired by the example of Herzegovina and Bosnia, and incited in all probability by Russian and Servian agents, after vain complaints and petitions, on the 1st of May, 1876, some young men raised the standard of revolt against such shameless oppression at Drenovo, near Tirnova.

Almost at the same time an insurrection broke out in the region between Philippopolis and Sofia, and soon the insurgents numbered about 10,000 men. Abdul Kerim, commander of the army in Roumelia and Bulgaria, could not muster more than 10,000 or 15,000 regular troops, and so recourse was had to the expedient of commissioning

Bashi-Bazouks—volunteers without uniform—or, in other words, arming the Mohammedan population to suppress the revolt. Even the prisons were emptied, and murderers were enrolled to put down the rebellion. Such a course could not fail to result in massacres of the most atrocious description. The insurrection was soon suppressed, but still the massacres continued. It seems to have been the intention of the Turkish Government to break the spirit of the Bulgarian people finally and completely, and thus render any future revolt an impossibility. The number of the luckless victims of this barbarous

policy has been variously estimated at from 8,000 to 100,000. This terrible page of history is known as the Bulgarian atrocities.

The Bulgarian massacres could not fail to excite the greatest indignation in all Europe, but more especially in Serbia and Montenegro. Serbia had long hesitated between peace and war. She had to fear, not alone the superior strength of the Turks, but also the jealousy of Austria, or rather Hungary, which had no desire to encourage the dream of a great Serbia. In February of 1876, the war party at length gained the upper hand, and made such



ROAD FROM GATTARO, AUSTRIA, TO GETTINJE, CAPITAL OF MONTENEGRO.

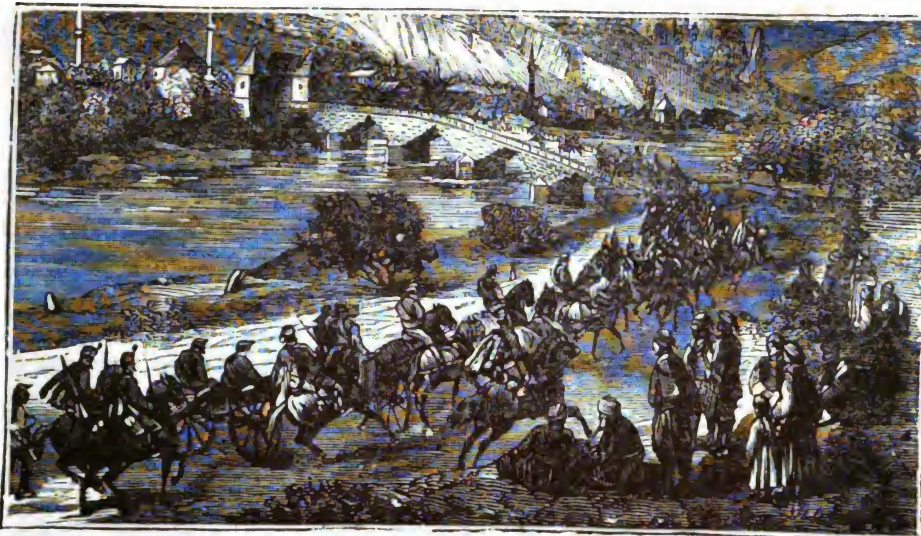
open preparations for a campaign against Turkey that Austria and Russia united in a joint note, urging the Servian Government to refrain from hostilities. Austrian influence did not prove strong enough to hold the Servians back. Prince Nikita at once placed himself at the head of the Herzegovinian movement, and issued orders to the insurgents. On the 26th of June the latter proclaimed him as their Prince, and two days later the Bosnian insurgents, imitating their example, proclaimed Prince Milan Prince of Bosnia.

The Servian army had already been for some time assembled on the border, while the Turks had also collected



a considerable force on their side of the line. On the 2d of July the Servian army crossed the Turkish border, and at the same time Prince Nikita, who had already called into the field the whole able-bodied population between the ages of seventeen and sixty, announced to the Porte that he preferred open war to the state of virtual siege in which his principality was kept by the Turkish forces on the border.

The Servian field army numbered about 80,000 men; but of these only 3,000 were regular troops, while there was, furthermore, no reserve from which to supply the



AUSTRIANS ENTERING NOVI BAZAR, BOSNIA.



AUSTRIANS FALLING BACK TO DOBOJ, IN 1878.

brothers fighting in the common quarrel of the Slavonic race.

The Montenegrin army, consisting almost exclusively of militia, numbered 15,000 men, divided into two parts, in order to make head at the same time toward the north and south. The insurgents in Herzegovina were under the command of the Prince of Montenegro, while those in Bosnia fought independently; and it is rather a significant fact that the activity in those provinces decreased in proportion as that of Servia and Montenegro increased.

The Turkish army at the outset of the campaign numbered

losses incurred through battle and disease.

Russia manifested the liveliest sympathy for the Servians. Of the 6,000 to 8,000 foreign volunteers in the Servian army, fully 3,000 were Russians, and many of the officers were of the same nationality. Money and hospital stores were freely supplied from the Northern empire; the Empress put herself at the head of the benevolent societies organized for the benefit of the Servians and Montenegrins; collections were taken up from house to house; and numerous ladies and physicians hastened to offer their services at the seat of war. The Emperor maintained an attitude of reserve, but the whole nation saluted the Servians and Montenegrins as



AUSTRIANS OCCUPYING SARAJEVO, IN BOSNIA.



150,000 men, under the command of Abdul Kerim ; but this force was constantly increased by fresh troops from Asia and Africa, who were paid by means of Abdul Aziz's confiscated treasures. The Turks were seriously impeded, however, in their prosecution of the war by the fact that they were compelled to recognize the neutrality of the Danube ; in addition to which the harbor of Klek, where reinforcements were to have been disembarked for Mukhtar Pasha, was closed by the Austrians.

On the 2d of July Chernayeff crossed the Turkish frontier, and severed the communications between Abdul Kerim at Nish, and Osman Pasha in Viddin. The campaign had lasted ten weeks, and had resulted slightly to the disadvantage of the Servians. For the rest, although the Montenegrins had been victorious both in the north and south, all the other allies on whom Servia had counted had failed her utterly. Neither Roumania nor Greece had moved ; Bulgaria was crushed, and the Bosnians were held in check by the Turkish troops which had been sent thither. Russia offered nothing more than private assistance and semi-official encouragement. Servia and Montenegro were left alone to carry on an unequal struggle with the Turkish empire. It was no wonder, therefore, that the demand for peace should make itself heard in Belgrade, and on the 16th of September a ten days' armistice was concluded. The armistice was the direct work of the Great Powers.

England's pro-Turkish attitude naturally excited the greatest indignation in Russia, where all classes of the population were clamorous for war with Turkey. The Emperor, as has already been narrated, preserved an attitude of reserve, and dissuaded Servia and Montenegro from war, at the same time that he made no effort to restrain his subjects from rendering assistance to those states, and permitted Russian officers to take service in the Servian army. The alliance of the three Emperors compelled him to consider Austrian interests, and he was guided in his direct policy by Austrian wishes. On the 8th of July a meeting took place at Reichstadt between Alexander and Francis Joseph, attended by their respective chancellors, at which it seems to have been decided that no armed intervention should be attempted for the present, and that neither state should in any case act independently of the other. Germany, as the least interested, whose business it was to act as mediator, and reconcile, so far as possible, the conflicting views of her two colleagues, naturally assented to this arrangement. The position of the Austro-Hungarian government was no easy one, and the Servian war certainly did not tend to make it easier.

But before matters had reached this point hostilities had been again resumed. Servia refused to consent to the prolongation of the armistice to sixteen days, inasmuch as the ten days' armistice had not been strictly observed.

On the 30th of October, Ignatieff, in an interview with Savfet Pasha, informed the latter, in the name of the Russian Emperor, that unless within twenty-four hours the Porte signified its willingness to conclude an armistice with Servia of six weeks or two months, Russia would break off her political relations with the Sultan. What Turkey might venture to refuse to the united demands of the disunited Great Powers she did not dare to refuse to Russia alone, and on the 31st of October a two months' truce with Servia was signed. England at once proposed a conference of the Powers on the basis of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, with a view to establishing administrative autonomy in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria ; and after some objections on the part of the Porte, all the

Powers accepted her invitation and sent delegates to the conference at Constantinople.

On the 2d of November the Czar, in a conversation with Lord Loftus, the English ambassador at St. Petersburg, pledged his word that he did not aim at the acquisition of Constantinople, and that in case it became necessary to occupy Bulgaria, the occupation should be merely temporary. He did not believe that anything could be accomplished without a display of arms, and suggested that Austria should occupy Bosnia, and Russia, Bulgaria, while the English fleet should appear before Constantinople. In a dispatch of the 3d, Lord Derby expressed himself satisfied with the Czar's assurances respecting his intentions. But it soon appeared that the English Government was not satisfied, after all. On the 9th of November, at the Lord Mayor's banquet, Lord Beaconsfield, after glorifying the strength and resources of Great Britain, said, "In a righteous cause, England is not the country that will have to inquire whether she can enter upon a second or third campaign. In a righteous cause England will commence a fight that will not end till right is done."

These utterances were ominous. On the 13th the Czar ordered the formation of six army corps out of the divisions stationed in the military districts of Odessa, Charkoff and Kieff, and appointed Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaievitch their commander. A Crimean army was also to be formed, under the command of General Semyeka, and large reinforcements were ordered for Loris Melikoff, in the Caucasus. In an explanatory circular Gortschakoff informed the Great Powers that Russia was determined not to rest until justice had been done to the Christian subjects of the Porte. On the 18th of November a loan of 100,000,000 rubles was ordered, which was taken up in the Russian empire within eight days. Orders were also issued placing the railroads at the disposal of the military authorities, the export of grain and horses was forbidden, torpedoes were laid at the entrances of the most important Black Sea harbors, and other necessary preparations made for war.

These measures called forth, not alone diplomatic protests and inquiries from the English Cabinet, but also counter-preparations, and on the 18th of November it was announced that, in case Bulgaria were occupied by Russian troops, England would occupy Gallipoli and Constantinople, in order to secure the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles against the Russian fleet. A war between Russia and Turkey was everywhere regarded as certain, and the also become involved. It was generally felt that the peace of Europe depended on the attitude of Germany, and fear was entertained that England, or even Austria, might men asked what Bismarck's policy would be. In answer to an interpellation in the *Reichstag* by Richter, on the 5th of December, Bismarck gave it to be understood that Germany would support Russia in her demands relative to the Christian subjects of the Porte, and that in case of war Austria's neutrality was assured ; Russia was to make no conquests, and Austrian interests were to be provided for. He also took occasion, at one of his parliamentary receptions, to express the belief that England would not be a party to the war.

After the failure of the conference, direct negotiations were opened with Servia and Montenegro, and on the 1st of March a peace was signed with the former state, by which the *status quo ante* was restored, with the stipulation that the Turkish flag should be planted on the citadel of Belgrade along with the Servian. With Montenegro matters did not run so smoothly. Turkey would not consent to any cession of territory ; and finally, on the 13th of April, negotiations were broken off, and both sides

prepared for a renewal of the war. But this time Prince Nikita was to have an ally more powerful than Servia.

On the 13th of April orders were issued to mobilize the whole Russian army. On the 24th of the same month the Emperor issued a manifesto ordering his troops to cross the Turkish frontiers; and on the same day a circular note was sent to the Powers, informing them of the fact. In his answer to this circular, Lord Derby expressed his regret at Russia's action, which he regarded as a violation of the Treaty of Paris of 1856; at the same time, however, he announced the intention of the English Government to observe a strict neutrality in case British interests were not interfered with. Those interests were somewhat more closely defined shortly after as being English communications with the East. For the protection of those communications the Suez canal must not be in any way obstructed, Constantinople must remain in the hands of its present possessors, and the existing regulations with regard to the Dardanelles and Bosphorus must be maintained. It was also indicated that the occupation of Bulgaria for any longer time than was absolutely necessary might occasion unpleasant complications.

The position of Roumania between the two belligerents rendered its alliance a matter of importance to both sides. On the 16th of April a convention was concluded with Russia, by which free passage through the principality was conceded to the Russian army, together with the use of the railroads, post and telegraph; and it was also provided that the Roumanian commander-in-chief should establish magazines at all important points, excepting Bucharest, in the rear of the Russian army of operation. As this convention was a virtual declaration of war with Turkey, orders were issued on the 18th to concentrate 10,000 men at Bucharest, and two days later the mobilization of the whole army was commanded. Prince Charles assumed the chief command in person. His available troops, thoroughly equipped, and well provided with all the necessaries of war, numbered 38,000 infantry and 8,200 cavalry, with 120 field guns.

On the 6th of June, Emperor Alexander, accompanied by his Chancellor, arrived in Roumania and took up his headquarters at Playesti, north of Bucharest, where Grand Duke Nicholas had already been since the 15th of May. The waters of the Danube were still sixteen feet above the normal level, rendering the passage of the river for the present impracticable. The army under the Grand Duke's command consisted of nine army corps.

How strong the Turkish forces opposed to the Grand Duke's army were it is scarcely possible to estimate even approximately. According to the most probable guess there were 20,000 men in the Dobrudsha, 10,000 in Silistria, 30,000 in Rustchuk, 20,000 in Shumla, and 35,000 in Viddin, making a total of 115,000. In addition to these, a reserve army, about 30,000 strong, was formed to the south of the Balkans, and a number of soldiers were brought back from Montenegro. We will not enter into the details of the campaigning, but will come to Plevna and the results.

An unsuccessful attack made by the Russians on the 11th of September had shown that Plevna was not to be carried by storm. A pause of about a month ensued, while the Russians were waiting for reinforcements. The whole country from the Balkans to the Danube was in the hands of the Russians, and Plevna was completely isolated. The operations of Gourko's army compelled Mehemed Ali Pasha, who had succeeded Cheket, to abandon Orkanye, and retreat across the Balkans to Sofia, leaving a garrison in the Etropol Pasa.

Each week saw the iron ring around Plevna grow

smaller as one position after another fell into the hands of the Russians. On the 12th of November Grand Duke Nicholas called upon the Turkish commander to avoid useless loss of life by surrender, since there was no longer any possibility of relief; but the latter refused, announcing his determination to fight "to the last drop of our blood for the honor of our country." At length provisions failed, and a desperate attempt to break through the Russian lines was resolved upon. On the evening of December 9th, leaving the sick and wounded behind in Plevna, the Turkish army concentrated on the Vid. At daybreak of the 10th they began their advance toward Viddin in two columns. But the enemy was fully informed of their plans. As soon as the fortifications were abandoned by the Turks they were occupied by the Russians. The Roumanians and the Grenadier Corps received the attack of the Turkish troops, and hurled them back on the intrenchments, now occupied by Russian soldiers. The Turks fought with desperation. Osman himself was wounded in the leg. Finally, at 12.30 p.m., the white flag was raised, and the Turkish army surrendered at discretion. Ten pashas, 2,000 officers of the line, 128 staff-officers, and 36,000 men, besides the sick and the wounded, fell into the hands of the enemy.

The joy at Russian headquarters was unbounded, for the capture of Plevna set the army free to cross the Balkans and march on Adrianople. The Emperor greeted Generals Totleben, Imeritinski and Janetzki with the words, "This is wholly your work, and especially thine, Edward Ivanovitch" (Totleben). Osman Pasha, congratulated by his conquerors and lauded by the world, was sent as prisoner of honor to Charkoff. For almost five months (July 19th to December 10th), with inferior numbers and improvised fortifications, he had held in check the whole Russian army of occupation, inflicting upon it during that time a direct loss of at least 30,000 men.

The capture of Plevna enabled the Russians to resume an energetic offensive at all points. Gourko commenced the passage of the mountains by a circuitous route, in order to attack the enemy in the rear. By the evening of the 30th all difficulties had been overcome, and two days later the Turkish positions were in the hands of the Russians. This necessitated the evacuation of Sofia; and on the 4th of January, for the first time since 1484, a Christian army was in possession of the old Bulgarian capital.

Russian victory was now secure. The Turkish Empire seemed tottering to its fall, and the neighboring and subject states each prepared to appropriate the largest possible share of the booty. The recall of Suleiman Pasha and Mehemed Ali, with all available Turkish troops, had enabled the Montenegrins to reduce Niksich, Antivari and Dulcigno; and on the 29th of January, 1878, Prince Nikita led his army across the Boyana with the intention of investing Scutari in Northern Albania. The Servians, also, after the fall of Plevna had rendered Russian victory inevitable, bravely took up arms, and succeeded in reducing Nish, as well as a few other places of less importance.

The insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina still continued. Crete was in rebellion—the insurgents demanded union with Greece—only the fortresses remaining in the hands of the Turks. Thessaly and Epirus were also in open revolt; and on the 12th of February, 1878, 12,000 Grecian soldiers appeared to support the rebels, and take possession of Thessaly, Macedonia and Epirus in behalf of the Government at Athens. But the quarrels of the doctors, which had so long preserved the "sick man" from dissolution, intervened once more to save him.



Austria still preserved her attitude of neutrality. The Poles and Hungarians urged active interference in behalf of the Turks; the Bohemians and south Slavs were equally loud in their demands for co-operation with Russia. Pesth was the headquarters of the Turcophiles, and greeted with illuminations all tidings of Mohammedan victories; while Agram, the capital of the south Slavs, welcomed with rejoicings the news of Russian success.

In September of 1877 the Austrian authorities discovered on the southeastern frontier of Transylvania a depot of arms and munitions for some 6,000 men. An investigation revealed a conspiracy on the part of a number of Poles and Hungarians to make an inroad into Roumania, destroy the railroad at Busco and Marachesti, threaten the Russian line of communications, and form a junction with a Turkish column which was to advance from Silistria.

But Andrassy's Government, supported by the German element, steered skillfully between this Scylla and Charybdis of Turcophiles and Russophiles, maintaining the strictest neutrality, although no state was in reality more deeply interested than Austria in the final settlement of the Eastern Question—for Austrian interests would not permit Russia to dominate the mouth of the Danube, or exercise an everweening influence in the Slavonic states of the Balkan peninsula.

On the side of England, the danger of some interference seemed more imminent. Russophobia was on the increase, and the utterances of both ministers and Press grew steadily more warlike. The fall of Plevna and the advance on Constantinople increased the excitement. In London, Parliament was summoned to meet on the 17th of January, and in Constantinople, Layard became a regular

attendant at the meetings of the Turkish ministers. On the 12th of December the Porte had addressed a useless circular to the Great Powers asking their interference for the conclusion of a peace with Russia. Toward the end of that month, by Layard's advice, the Sultan wrote a letter to Queen Victoria, asking her mediation, and the latter at once telegraphed to the Czar, urging peace, and tendering her good offices. The Czar replied that, if the Sultan were desirous of peace, he must apply directly, and not through other Powers; and an inquiry from the English cabinet regarding the condition to be exacted

elicited merely an evasive answer.

On the 31st of January preliminaries of peace and a cessation of hostilities were signed by both sides. In accordance with the terms of this armistice, the Turks evacuated and surrendered to the Russians all fortresses still in their possession north of a line from Derkos, on the Black Sea, to San Stefano, on the Sea of Marmora. The English Government, fearful for "British interests," now began to act in earnest. It was announced in Parliament that England, supported by Austria, would not recognize any private treaty between Russia and



INSURGENT CHIEF BROUGHT INTO SERAJEVO.

Turkey, but would insist that the terms of peace be submitted to a congress of the Great Powers.

On the 31st of January in the face of a protest from the Porte, the English fleet received orders to repair to Constantinople "for the protection of the life and property of English subjects." Gortschakoff at once announced to the Great Powers that in that event Russia would find it necessary to march her troops into Constantinople for the protection of the Christian subjects of the Porte. A compromise was finally effected; and on the 13th of February Admiral Hornby, with six ships, passed through the Dardanelles, and came to anchor at the





GARRISON OF BELGRADE SWEARING ALLEGIANCE TO MILAN I., KING OF SERBIA.

Prince's Islands, about ten miles below the capital. These ships were all armed to the teeth.

On the 3d of March, 1878, the treaty of San Stefano was signed by Ignatieff and Nelidoff on behalf of Russia, and Server Pasha and Sadullah Bey, Turkish ambassadors in Berlin, on behalf of Turkey. By this treaty Montenegro, in addition to its independence, received Niksich and Gacko, with the adjoining territory in the north, while its boundaries were extended to the Sea of Scutari and the Boyana River on the south. Serbia also became independent, and received a considerable increase of territory to the south and west — her most important acquisition being the town and fortress of Nish. Roumania, whose independence was recognized, received the lower Dobrudzha from Turkey, in return for the cession of Bessarabia to Russia. Bulgaria, with the Black Drina for its western boundary,

and extending southward to the Aegean Sea, at the mouth of the River Karasu, was to be a self-governing, tributary principality, with a Prince chosen by the people and confirmed by the Porte, with the consent of the Great Powers. By way of preparation for self-government, the new principality was to be administered for two years by a Russian Commissioner, and be occupied at its own cost by 50,000 Russian soldiers. The reforms indicated by the Constantinople Conference were to be carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina; Crete was to receive the

organization promised in 1868; and a similar form of administration was to be introduced in the remaining Christian provinces. Thus were the cards shuffled and played by this treaty, the players all intent upon the game, all playing with the uttermost *finesse*, none, however, daring to cheat, although inclined so to do.

The war indemnity to be paid to Russia was fixed at



MILAN I., KING OF SERBIA, AND QUEEN NATALIE.



1,410,000,000 rubles ; 900,000,000 for the expenses of the war ; 400,000,000 for the injuries inflicted on Russian commercial interests ; 100,000,000 for the insurrection in the Caucasus excited by Turkish agents, and supported by Turkish troops ; and 10,000,000 as compensation for the losses inflicted on Russian subjects within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. In view of the condition of Turkish finances, Ardahan, Kars, Batoum, Bayazid, and the territory between the Russian frontier and the Soghanly Mountains were to be accepted by Russia in lieu of 1,100,000,000 rubles, thus reducing the actual amount of the money indemnity to 310,000,000 (about \$248,000,000). It was also provided that the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles should remain open for the merchantmen of all neutral powers during peace and war alike.

England and Austria at once declared this treaty unacceptable, and demanded a European congress. Russia consented, but would only agree to submit the treaty of San Stefano to the *perusal* of that body, reserving to herself the right of accepting or rejecting the recommendations of the congress at her pleasure, and argued that the questions concerning Turkey and herself were for Turkey and herself to settle between them. England, on the other hand, demanded that the treaty of Paris of 1856 should form the basis of negotiation, and that all the paragraphs of the treaty of San Stefano should be submitted to the congress, to be accepted or rejected by it. At the outset Austria seemed likely to side with England in spite of the alliance of the three emperors. The Austrian-Hungarian delegations were convened at Pesth on the 7th of March, and Andrassy demanded and obtained an extraordinary credit of 60,000,000 gulden. Although he denied that the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was the object of his policy, it was, nevertheless, apparent that the occupation of those provinces was imminent.

To the formation of a Bulgarian principality Andrassy expressed a determined hostility ; and he advocated further the strengthening of the Grecian element in the Balkan peninsula as a balance to the Slavic. To remove his objections, Ignatieff was dispatched to Vienna toward the end of March ; and, as the result of his mission, an understanding was reached with the Austrian Government. But with England the case was different. The withdrawal of Lord Derby from the cabinet (Lord Carnarvon, the only other peace member, had already withdrawn), and the calling out of the reserves, looked as though England would go to war in support of her view of the case. The greatest activity prevailed in the English arsenals and dockyards, and on the 29th of April the first installment of Indian troops which the cabinet had ordered to the Mediterranean, 6,000 men in all, embarked at Bombay for Malta.

On the 1st of April Lord Salisbury, the new minister of Foreign Affairs, formerly Secretary for India, had issued a circular note to the effect that England would not enter into a congress which was not free to discuss the whole treaty of San Stefano. Gortschakoff's answer showed equal firmness on the part of Russia.

Both parties seemed steering toward war, and there was a time when people daily expected the news of a collision on the Bosphorus.

Count Shouvaloff conducted direct negotiations between the two capitals, and through his exertions a secret agreement was signed in London on the 30th of May, by which the difficulties in the way of the proposed congress were at length removed, and the threatened war averted. It was arranged that Bulgaria should be divided into two provinces, the one north and the other south of the Balkans ; the former to be a tributary state, and the latter to

possess a semi-autonomous administration under a Christian stadtholder appointed by the Porte, with the consent of the Great Powers. Bayazid and the valley of the Alashkert were to be restored to Turkey, on account of their importance to the trade between that country and Persia, and the little district of Khotur was to be surrendered to the latter state by the Sultan. The Russian Government also made some further concessions of minor importance, and promised that in the future the Russian boundaries should not be extended toward Asiatic Turkey. As to the retrocession of Bessarabia to Russia by Roumania, England agreed to make no objections, inasmuch as the other Powers did not oppose it, and English interests were not directly involved, but reserved for the discussion and decision of the congress the passage of the Russian troops through the principality.

The two last-named points—the cession of Bessarabia and the passage through Roumania of the Russian troops—encountered, as was to have been expected, bitter opposition from Prince Charles's Government. By the treaty of San Stefano, besides ceding Bessarabia to Russia in return for a part of the Dobrudsha, his dominions were to remain open to the Russians for two years for the passage of troops to and from Bulgaria, while Roumania was, furthermore, left to make her own terms with Turkey in regard to a war indemnity—which was equivalent to saying that she was to receive no indemnity whatever. Bratiano, the minister-president, undertook a mission to Berlin and Vienna to win support for his government, but without success.

For somewhat similar reasons, Grecian claims were not viewed with much favor in St. Petersburg. Greece looked with longing eyes on Thessaly—where, out of a total population of 384,230 souls, 341,850 were Greeks—and Epirus, which numbered 415,965 Greeks as against 318,955 Turks and Albanians. The prospect of a division of Turkey had caused the greatest excitement in Athens. On the 29th of March, 1877, parliament voted the formation of a new reserve of 20,000 men, raising the whole force at the disposal of the Grecian Government to 34,000. The Russian declaration of war increased the excitement.

The proper time for action was immediately after the fall of Plevna, but the opportunity was allowed to pass, and when at last, on the 2d of February, 1878, fearful of being excluded from the division of the spoils, the Government ordered 12,000 Greek troops across the frontier, it was already too late ; the armistice had set the Porte at liberty to utilize a part of its forces for the protection of its southern borders. When the Constantinople cabinet decided to send Hobart Pasha to the Piræus with a fleet of ironclads, and at the same time land troops in Thessaly, Athens was seized with a panic, and on the 7th of February, by the advice of the Great Powers, especially England, the Grecian general, Soutzo, received orders to lead his troops back to Lamia. This was a deadly blow to the insurrection in Thessaly, and by the display of a little energy, accompanied by abundant promises of amnesty, the Turks succeeded in effecting its complete suppression by the end of March. In return for her general amenity to English advice, the English cabinet promised King George's Government to use its influence in behalf of Greece at the approaching congress.

The congress met in Berlin, on the 13th of June, the German chancellor presiding. Besides Turkey and the six Great Powers, Greece, Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro had also sent delegates, but these latter had not been formally invited, and were admitted only to such sittings as dealt with the special interests of the states they represented.

As was the case in most of the other matters in dispute, the real decision was reached in private consultations between the representatives of the states especially interested, and then formally adopted by the congress.

The province of East Roumelia, to the south of the Balkans, was to remain under the immediate political and military dominion of the Porte, but with an autonomous administration and a local militia, officered, however, by the Sultan. For the protection of the frontiers, the latter potentate was also allowed to erect fortresses and maintain garrisons—of regular troops only.

The settlement of the Armenian question proved more difficult. In her private agreement with Russia, England had consented to the cession of Batoum, but she now sought to diminish the value of that post by stipulating that the fortifications should be demolished and the port declared free. The dispute, which at one time assumed a serious character, was finally settled by a declaration on the part of the Czar that Batoum should be a free port. Kars, Ardahan and Batoum were ceded to Russia, the district of Khotur to Persia, and the Sultan pledged himself to carry out the requisite reforms in Armenia without loss of time, and to protect the inhabitants against the Kurds and Circassians. At the same time a secret treaty was made known which had been contracted between England and Turkey on the 4th of June. By this treaty the Porte pledged itself to carry out reforms in Asia Minor, and England, on her part, guaranteed the integrity of the Sultan's Asiatic possessions. To put England in a position to fulfill her part of the treaty, and as a pledge for the execution of the promised reforms, the Porte surrendered Cyprus to England as a naval and military station, the latter agreeing to regard the island as an integral part of the Turkish Empire, and to make over the surplus revenue to the Sultan. This treaty, which had received the consent of Germany and Russia at the time of its execution, aroused great indignation in France and Italy, both of which countries viewed with jealous alarm any increase of English power in the Mediterranean. To pacify the former state, Beaconsfield and Salisbury entered into a secret arrangement with Waddington, in accordance with which England was to put no obstacles in the way of a French occupation of Tunis—an arrangement of which the French Government finally took advantage in the year 1881. The English representatives had also entered into an arrangement with Austria in reference to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

With regard to the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles the *status quo* was maintained. Besides these questions, which directly affected the Great Powers, the claims of the smaller states had also to be taken into consideration. Austria was unwilling to concede too much to Servia and Montenegro, as the increase of those states would have the effect of barring her advance toward the south. In particular she desired to shut out Montenegro from the sea. Austria had also acquired the right to construct a road and railroad through Montenegro.

The independence of Servia and Montenegro was recognized on condition that full freedom and political equality were accorded to the members of all religions. Servia received an addition to her population of 280,000 souls, her most important acquisition being the city and fortress of Nish.

Finally, it was recommended that the southern part of Thessaly and Epirus should be ceded to Greece, the Salambria and Kalamos rivers forming the new boundary line. In case the Sultan and the King of the Hellenes could not come to some understanding, the Great Powers were to have the right of offering their mediation. As to

Crete, the Sultan undertook "scrupulously to apply the organic law of 1868."

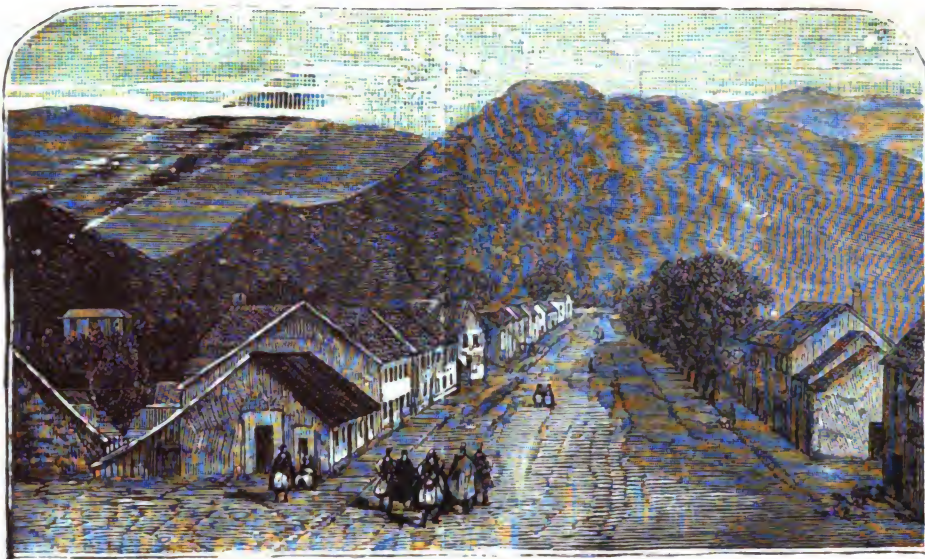
From one point of view the congress was a great game of grab. Germany, having already received her share in 1870, now had to make good her promises to Russia. The latter acquired Bessarabia and a slice of Armenia. England appropriated Cyprus, and assumed a sort of protectorate in Asia Minor. Austria occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina, and took a long step on the road toward Constantinople. France obtained a lien on Tunis, and only Italy had no share in the distribution of the spoils. The treaty had been made; the next step was to execute it. England at once took possession of Cyprus.

Like England, Austria took possession of her share of the booty at once, but not without the most obstinate resistance. Finding it impossible to form any convention with the Porte regarding the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina—inasmuch as the latter demanded that a limit should be set to the period of occupation, while the Austrian Government meant that the occupation should be perpetual, or, in other words, an annexation—Andrassy determined to act without a convention, and on the 29th of July, 1878, General Philippovich, with three divisions, received orders to cross the frontier. Bashi-Bazouks, Bosnian beys, the Albanian League and Turkish regulars united in opposing the Austrian advance, and two out of the three columns into which Philippovich had divided his forces met with disaster. Thereupon the three divisions were increased to three full army corps, and by the 4th of October both provinces were in full possession of the invading army. Within the next three years Austria, by dint of threats and diplomacy combined, concluded railroad and commercial treaties giving her a general control of railroad communications in the Balkan peninsula, a practical monopoly of the Danube, and a politico-commercial dictatorship in Servia. In 1881 an Austrian occupation of Bulgaria seemed at one time imminent. The present policy of the dual empire, in which it is strongly supported by Germany, is to make Austrian influence dominant on the road to Constantinople.

Russia, in order to secure the more rapid obedience to those articles of the treaty of Berlin which concerned her interests, announced that her troops would maintain their position before Constantinople until all the provisions of the treaty had been executed. The difficulty of coming to an agreement regarding the war indemnity, and those points of the treaty of San Stefano which had not been touched upon in the Berlin Congress, gave rise to a further conflict, and at one time a renewal of the war seemed not improbable. Finally, however, on the 8th of February, 1879, an additional treaty was concluded between Lobanoff, Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, and Karatheodor Pasha, Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, by which the treaty of San Stefano was declared binding, in so far as its provisions were not expressly superseded by the treaty of Berlin, and the war indemnity was fixed at 802,500,000 francs.

In Bulgaria the constituent Assembly, consisting of 288 members, partly elected by the people, partly appointed by the government, was opened at Tirnova on the 23d of February, 1879, by the Russian Governor-general, Prince Dondukoff. Admission was refused to the delegates from Thrace and East Roumelia, and a strict observance of the Treaty of Berlin with respect to the territorial limitation of the principality was enjoined upon the somewhat recalcitrant majority. An elaborate and liberal constitution was adopted on the 28th of April, and on the 29th the new National Assembly, consisting of 250 members—twenty-two of them Mohammedans—was convened, and proceeded





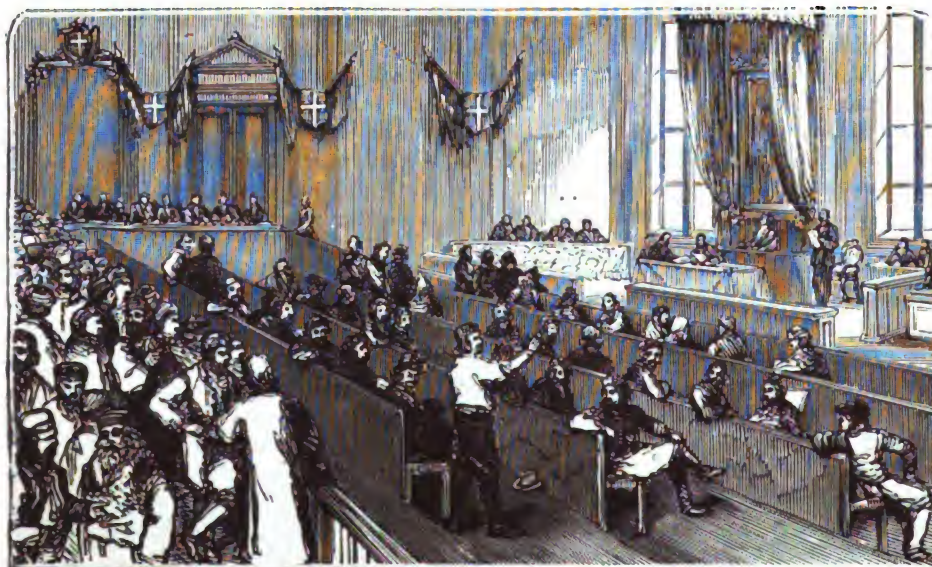
CETINJE, CAPITAL OF MONTENEGRO.

at once to elect Prince Alexander, of Battenberg, nephew of the Russian Empress, and son of Prince Alexander of Hesse, Prince of Bulgaria.

The organization of East Roumelia proved a task of great difficulty. By the Treaty of Berlin an International Commission was charged with the organization of the province and the provisional administration of the finances. In this commission Russia represented the wishes of the people; and England, which represented the interests of the Porte, accused her of fostering hopes among the East Roumelians of a union with Bulgaria. It was feared that an insurrection might break out on the withdrawal of the Russian troops, and it was certain that this would be the



HERZEGOVINIANS.



SERBIAN SKUPCHINA IN SESSION AT BELGRADE.

case if Turkey insisted on her right to occupy the Balkan passes, thus forming a military cordon between East Roumelia and Bulgaria. Finally the Czar sent General Obrutcheff to Constantinople to arrange a compromise.

The Czar pledged himself for the maintenance of order in the province of East Roumelia, and agreed to remit the 20,000,000 francs, or thereabouts, due to Russia for the maintenance of Turkish prisoners during the war, in consideration of which the Sultan pledged himself "provisionally" not to exercise his right of garrison in Burgas, Ichti-man and the Balkan Passes.

Thereupon General Obrutcheff repaired to Philippopolis and read in the cathedral of that place a manifesto announcing to the Roumelian Bulgarians these concessions on the side of the Porte, and warning them to observe the Treaty of Berlin and be satisfied with their present position. The popular leaders, whose hopes were dashed by this announcement, finally resolved to accept the situation, but at the same time to maintain their military organization intact; and so this difficulty was settled.

The evacuation of East Roumelia by the Russian troops began on the 3d of May, 1879,



and on the 27th of July the last Russian soldier embarked at Burgas.

In the European provinces which still remain under the direct administration of the Sultan the promised reforms have never been carried out.

To the recommendation of the congress, relative to the cession of territory to Greece, Turkey paid no heed whatever. A Greek note of July 17th, with regard to the territory to be ceded, remained unnoticed by the Porte. This was followed by a second and third.

This drew out a circular dispatch from Waddington, asking the other powers to unite with France in exerting pressure on the Porte. In the meantime the Grecian Government, in order to be prepared for all contingencies, had raised the strength of the active army to 18,000 men, and that of the reserve to 37,000, and obtained from Parliament an additional credit of 85,000,000 francs.

France then proposed an after-conference for the settlement of the Greek question, and England called upon the other powers to unite with her in presenting to the Porte identical notes with reference to Greece, Montenegro and Armenia.

As the Great Powers decided not to admit Turkish or Grecian plenipotentiaries, the Porte announced that it would not regard the decisions of the conference as binding. The new line proposed by France (Russia, contrary to her former policy, proposed a still more northern one) was the same which had been suggested by Prince Leopold of Coburg, when the Grecian crown was offered to him in 1830. Starting from the mouth of the Mavrolongos River, considerably further north than the point

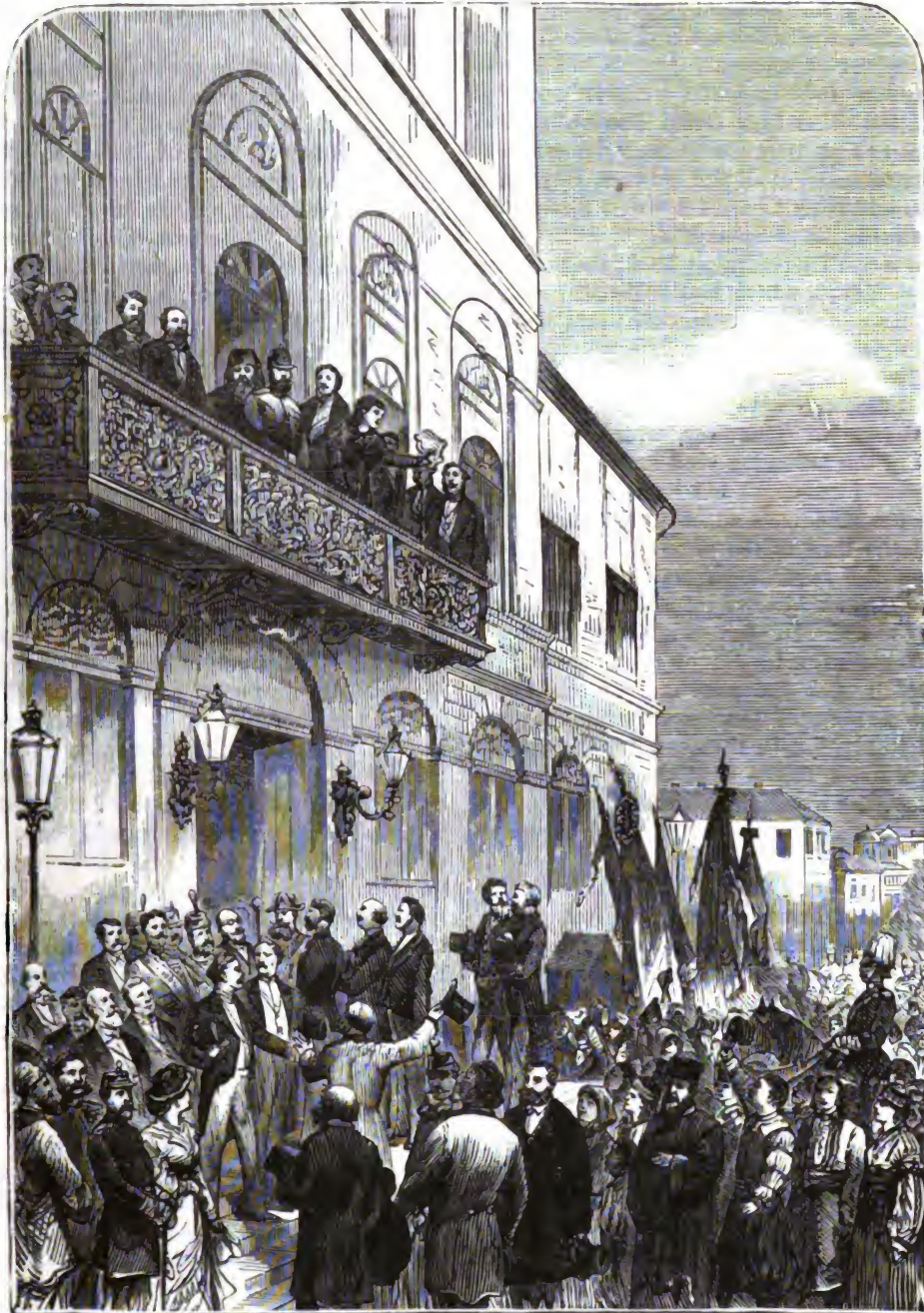
chosen by the Berlin congress, it followed the course of the mountains until the Kalamos was reached, from which point westward to the Ionian Sea that stream was to serve as the boundary.

Finally, in March of 1881, an arrangement was reached by which Janina and Prevesa, with the greater part of Epirus, were to be left in the hands of the Turks, while in Thessaly the boundary between the two countries was to be substantially the same as that marked out by the

treaty of Berlin; and, by Autumn of that year, the ceded territory had already been evacuated by the Turks.

Like Greece Montenegro also had great difficulty in obtaining from the Porte the territory allotted to it by the congress; but in this case it was necessary to overcome not alone the procrastination of the Porte, but also the hostility of a part of the population of the ceded districts and of the Albanian League.

In October the leaders of the league resolved to put 8,000 men in the field at Podgorizza, to prevent the surrender of that place to Montenegro, and, in order to secure the greater freedom of action, they demand-



BOUMANIA PROCLAIMED A KINGDOM, IN 1881.

ed from the Porte the recognition of autonomy, and the appointment of native officials. The Turks promised and procrastinated, Turkish troops went over to the Albanians, Turkish commanders allowed provisions and military stores to fall into their hands, and an Albanian, Abeddin Pasha, was appointed Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs. Montenegro was not strong enough to assert her rights by force of arms, and of the Great Powers Germany, Austria and France were averse to military intervention.



On the 27th of November, after some fighting, Dulcigno was handed over to the Montenegrins, and the tedious dispute was at an end.

Servia was more fortunate than Greece or Montenegro, inasmuch as her share of the Turkish territory was already in her possession, and could, therefore, give rise to no diplomatic difficulties. Neither did the religious equality upon which the recognition of Servian independence had been conditioned by the Great Powers occasion any difficulty, and the Skuptshina, by vote, abolished the constitutional provision limiting the political rights of Jews resident in Servia. In Roumania, however, the Jewish question was more difficult of settlement. Austria and Russia recognized Roumanian independence without awaiting the condition, but the other four Great Powers insisted upon its fulfillment as a prerequisite to their recognition.

In 1881, with the consent of all the Powers, Roumania became a kingdom, and King Charles I. was added to the list of European constitutional monarchs.

It remains to say a word concerning Turkey's most important vassal state, Egypt, which had sent 6,000 men to assist the Porte in its war with Russia. The sale of Suez Canal shares to England, in the year 1875, was necessitated by the Khédive's lack of money. His already formidable financial difficulties were increased in that year by a war with Abyssinia. This war, which continued through the whole of the following year, resulted in a disaster to the Egyptian forces, and led to a successful insurrection against the Khédive's authority in Darfour, in the year 1877. At the time of the purchase of the Canal shares Ismail Pasha also requested from England a competent financier to exploit his budget and act as general financial counselor; and Mr. Cave, with a staff of experts, was accordingly sent to Egypt in December of 1875. Cave's mission, and the purchase of the Canal shares, excited the jealousy of France, and England saw herself compelled to share with that country the guardianship of the Khédive's finances. The state of those finances grew worse and worse, for Ismail Pasha understood the art of borrowing and wasting money as well as his suzerain, the Sultan Abdul Aziz.

At last, on the 19th of June, the two Western Powers informed the Khédive that he must either abdicate peacefully or be deposed by force. (The real agent in the matter of the deposition was, singularly enough, the German Empire.) English influence was also brought to bear upon the Sultan, and on the 26th Ismail received orders from Constantinople to abdicate in favor of his son, Tewfik. In return for this action on the Sultan's part Egyptian dependence on Turkey was rendered somewhat closer, and it was provided that customs or commercial treaties, as well as all treaties regulating the position of strangers toward the government, or toward the country in general, must first be submitted to the Sultan for his approval; that no new loans should be contracted without the sanction of the Porte and the express consent of the Egyptian bondholders; and that the peace strength of the Egyptian army should not exceed 18,000 men. To avoid offense to Mussulman susceptibilities, a native ministry was formed; but the practical management of the finances was placed in the hands of English and French commissioners. These commissioners pronounced Egypt bankrupt, and an International Committee of liquidation was formed, in which all the European Great Powers were represented. The liquidation law drawn up by this committee was signed by Tewfik on the 18th of July, 1880, and Egypt went into formal bankruptcy, England and France acting as receivers.

On the 9th of September, 1881, the whole army, under

the command of Achmet Bey el Araby, a Mohammedan zealot, colonel of an Egyptian regiment, surrounded the Khédive's palace in Cairo, and extorted from him the dismissal of the Riaz ministry, and the appointment of Sherif Pasha and a Cabinet independent of foreign control.

Stirring events in Egypt have been of so late a date as to render it unnecessary to detail them. France would, and would not, act. The chestnuts were to be pulled out of the fire by England, and France was to share them. This is all changed, and France is chestnut-less and angry.

Italy held aloof, in great displeasure at the Tunis expedition—a displeasure which, in some degree, extended to England, since the English and French control in Egypt appeared to make light of Italian interests in the Levant. Whether the proposal to give Italy a share in the protection of the Canal will in any way appease the Italian people, remains to be seen; but a strong alliance between France and Italy, useful as it might prove to France, is scarcely possible as yet, so much has Italy been taught to depend on Germany for her European position, and so unfavorable are the Foreign Office traditions of France to any cordial co-operation with the kingdom whose rise French statesmen united to consider so terrible a calamity to the French. At the same time, unless France is to wait till her people and her armies recover the self-confidence which was so utterly extinguished in 1870, the only remedy for the present paralysis appears to be a more cordial alliance between France and Spain, and France and Italy, to supplement the good understanding between France and England. At present there is something quite pitiable in the somersaults of French foreign policy. The breath of Germany is omnipotent, and even the silence of Germany is interpreted as the most ominous menace.

And who believes in the sincerity of Germany? Not her great ally, Austria, who wants to go to Salonica.

It is stated that the Montenegrin question has been amicably settled between the Porte and Russia and Austria, and that a commission will leave Constantinople to settle the frontier question. It is just this same frontier question that will set fire to the powder magazine.

Italy, greedy for territory, and for an opportunity of testing her one hundred-ton guns, is ready to invade France on the thinnest possible pretext, and awaits but a *casus belli*—some flimsy opportunity, to excuse her in the face of Europe to declare war. France's difficulty will prove Italy's opportunity.

We have shown in this article that the various conferences between the European Powers have been many games of grab. No one is satisfied. The hunger still exists. Austria has an enormous army, which has never yet crowned itself with glory. It has been beaten all along the line. The writer was present last August at a grand review at Vienna, in honor of the Emperor's birthday. Thirty-five thousand troops manoeuvred, and a more magnificent-looking body of men it is impossible to imagine. "If they could but get a chance," was the expression of a field-officer, when complimented on the appearance of the men, adding, "but they will, it is coming." Russian intrigue is making Austrian rule in Bosnia impossible. Bosnia is Austria's white elephant. The destroyer of Austria's peace must be punished at any cost. It is not unworthy of belief that Austria is working up the Poles, so that an insurrection at the right moment will occupy Russia in that quarter.

According to the returns of the Minister of War for the whole Empire the monarchy Austria possessed at the commencement of 1880, a standing army numbering 239,615

men on the peace-footing, and 771,556 on the war-footing, composed as follows :

DESCRIPTION OF TROOPS.	NUMBER.	
	Peace footing.	War footing.
<b>Infantry :</b>		
80 regiments of the line, each composed of 8 field battalions, 2 reserve, and 1 depot battalion.....	110,702	458,980
14 Military frontier regiments, 6 of 8, and 8 of 4 battalions.....	12,807	53,828
1 regiment of "Kaiser-Jäger" of Tyrol, and 83 battalions of "Feld-Jäger".....	20,251	54,463
12 companies of ambulance and hospital service.....	1,180	3,876
Total of infantry.....	144,440	571,092
<b>Cavalry :</b>		
14 regiments of dragoons, 12 heavy, and 9 light; 14 regiments of hussars; and 9 of lancers.....		
Total of cavalry.....	35,798	58,794
<b>Artillery :</b>		
12 regiments of field-artillery, each of 14 batteries of 8 pieces.....	17,880	48,886
14 battalions of fortress and mountain artillery.....	7,778	18,988
Total of artillery.....	25,658	62,774
<b>Engineers and Train :</b>		
2 regiments of "Genie," each of 4 battalions.....	4,662	18,240
1 regiment of pioneers of 5 battalions.....	2,803	7,747
54 squadrons of "Fuhrwesen," or train....	2,401	24,147
Total of engineers and train.....	9,866	45,184
<b>Miscellaneous Establishments :</b>		
Military instruction.....	2,234	2,234
Topographical survey.....	913	198
Commissariat and clothing departments..	3,705	7,900
Sanitary department.....	1,261	6,200
Arsenals, military stores, and buildings...	3,000	4,600
Army studs.....	5,800	5,800
Military police and gendarmes.....	7,700	7,700
Total of miscellaneous establishments	22,858	33,762
Total standing army.....	239,615	771,556

Let us turn to Russia, for the war cloud will come from the North.

The Russian advance in Central Asia has long been a source of uneasiness to a large part of the English nation, from a belief that it must ultimately endanger British rule in India, the Conservative leaders in general regarding Russia as England's natural enemy. Disraeli did, indeed, state in the House of Commons, in May of 1876, in answer to an interpellation that Russia had a great mission in the East, that Russian conquests in Asia furthered the cause of civilization, and should give the English people no occasion for uneasiness; but this state of mind was merely temporary; and it is even doubtful whether it was a state of mind at all, for, in defense of the new title, Empress of India (*Indiæ Imperatrix*), which was conferred upon the Queen in April of that year, he argued that, to avoid disaffection in the Indian Empire, in view of Russia's near approach, it was necessary for the British sovereign to bear a title not inferior to that of Russia's autocrat.

England would gladly see Russia crippled. Turkey would gladly see Russia crippled. Austria would gladly see Russia crippled. Germany would gladly see Russia crippled.

In the territories of the Czar the Nihilists were disappointed, but not discouraged.

It is well known, at least in Russia, that of all the projects of fiscal reform which has been promised, not one has been carried out.

The following is the composition of the Russian Army

Peace Footing.		War Footing.	
Battalions.....	1,033	Battalions.....	1,722
Squadrons.....	405	Squadrons.....	412
Guns.....	1,514	Guns.....	3,722
Horses.....	129,532	Horses.....	396,306

The nominal strength of the various divisions of the Russian Army, according to the returns of the Ministry of War, was as follows in 1890 :

	On the peace footing.	On the war footing.
<b>1. Regular Army.</b>		
Infantry.....	625,617	1,315,703
Cavalry.....	85,800	24,466
Artillery.....	108,819	216,722
Engineers.....	20,624	43,352
Total.....	840,711	2,904,283
<b>2. Irregular Army.</b>		
Infantry.....	6,500	8,510
Cavalry.....	34,186	142,400
Artillery.....	2,912	12,650
Total.....	43,608	163,560
General total.....	884,319	2,427,853

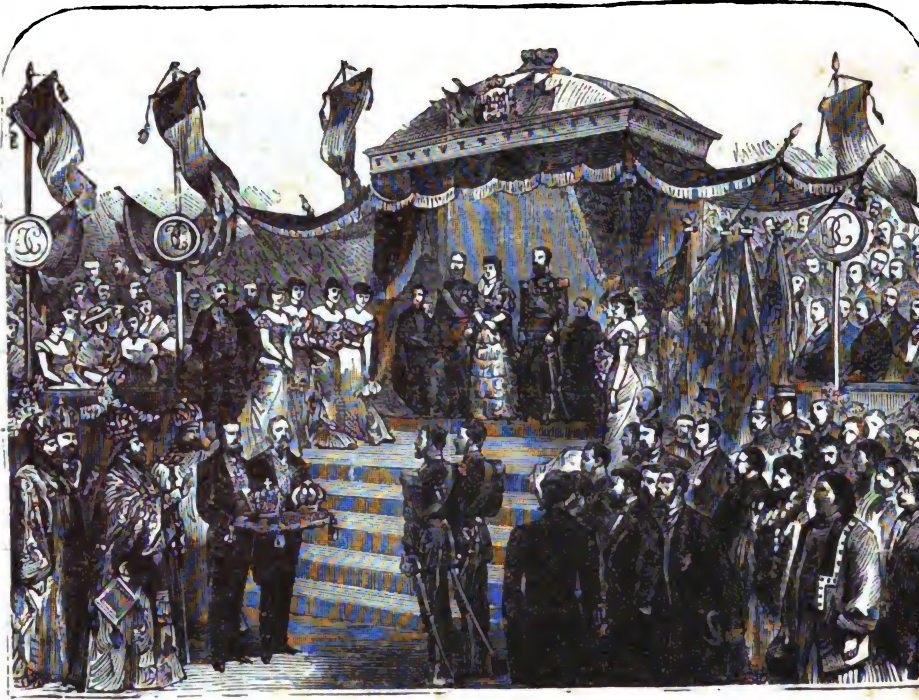
To this has to be added the staff, gendarmerie, militia (raised only in time of war), etc., which would raise the war forces to a total of 2,733,305 men. The Finnish troops form nine battalions of riflemen, each with 18 officers and 505 men, and number in all 4,833.

Among the irregular troops of Russia, the most important are the Cossacks. The country of the Don Cossacks contains from 600,000 to 700,000 inhabitants. By Imperial decree, dated April 29th 1875, every Cossack of the Don, from fifteen to sixty years of age, is bound to render military service. No substitution is allowed, nor payment of money in lieu of service. Exemption from military service is granted, however, at all times, to the Christian clergy, and, in times of peace, to physicians and veterinary surgeons, apothecaries and teachers in public schools. The regular military force consists of fifty-four cavalry regiments; each numbering 1,044 men, making a total of 56,376. The number of Cossacks is computed as follows :

	Heads.	In military service.
On the Black Sea.....	125,000	18,000
Great Russian Cossacks on the Caucasian Line.....	150,000	18,000
Don Cossacks.....	440,000	66,000
Ural Cossacks.....	50,000	8,000
Orenburg Cossacks.....	60,000	10,000
Siberian Cossacks.....	50,000	9,000
Total.....	875,000	129,000

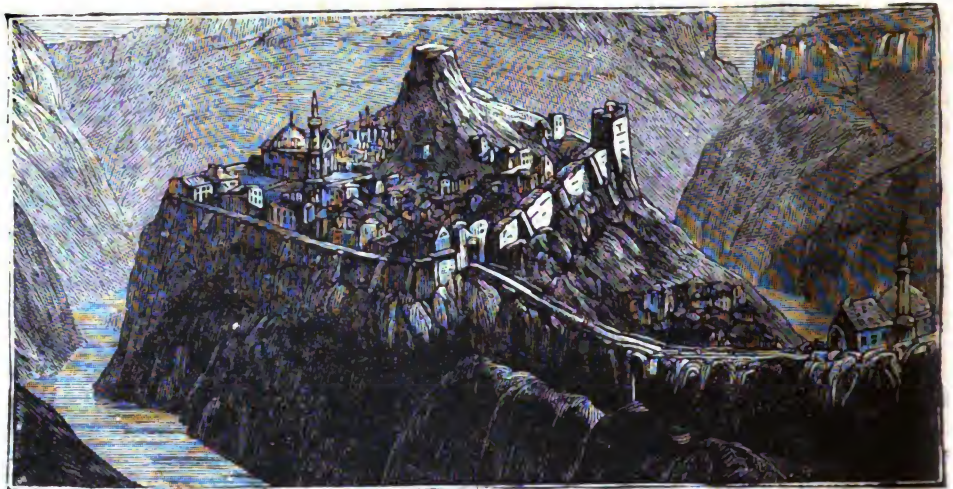
If, with direct and indirect evidences of the seemingly incurable decomposition of the Russian state and society, it were only a question of the greater or less probability of a violent internal cataclysm, then the rest of Europe might afford to contemplate the struggle as spectators who had no interest in its issue. But such is not the case. The very fact that all these domestic events in





CROWNING OF THE KING AND QUEEN OF ROUMANIA AT BUCHAREST.

Russia, which have so immeasurably increased the severity of the present crisis, threatening to make it fatal, are closely connected with the question of her foreign policy, serves to hasten the probability that, if all other remedies are found of no avail, an attempt will be made, after a well-known French method, to occupy the feverish elements of society by a foreign war. Add to this the fact that such a war is most eagerly desired by the discontented themselves, and that the first use which emancipated Russian society would make of its liberty would con-



TIROVA, CAPITAL OF THE ANCIENT KINGDOM OF BULGARIA.



BULGARIAN ASSEMBLY-CHAMBER, TIROVA.

sist in taking up again the policy of Eastern conquest, forcibly arrested by the Berlin congress, and declaring a war of revenge against those who brought that congress about. Frequent mention of such a war is made even now. Not that the Emperor Alexander desires another war; he is sick and weary of the name, and contemplates such an event with anxiety and dread. And indeed, so long as the Austro-German alliance can reckon on seeing its policy of peace, which constitutes its *raison d'être*, supported by an English Government, strong at home and respected abroad, whose influence with France may still be powerful enough to wean or to deter her from a coalition with the Northern Empire, even the most war-like Russians are forced of ne-

cessity to keep still. But if, on the other hand, an unhappy fate should will that a revolution in Russia should be accompanied by a relapse of England into indifference to continental interests, then the first result of this would be that France, deprived of the peaceful counsels of her English neighbor, of whom she is now rabidly jealous on account of the late little Egyptian difficulty, would reach her hand to Russia for an alliance; and the next result, that the whole of Europe would be taught to know that the revolution now imminent in Russia implies a terrible danger to European peace and civilization.